249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

423 [427]

Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

443 [467] [373]

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

[171] [434] [404]

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] [271]

Starch
Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan) 212
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy 443

Bottled lemon and orange ades [212]
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes [412]
Trimmings and ribbons
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

Clothing

Clogs (geta) [291]
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters [302]
Shampoos, liquid and powdered. [515]
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks [212]
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

Medicines

Aspirin [208]
Stomach powders
Eye lotions

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are:

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea.

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre.

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season.

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisō). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawan, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through [839] import stores have provided more variety.

Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's 272 meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have [915] acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [264] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl [262] of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

574 The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Hinatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Hann ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal time.

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.[4]

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[516] The custom of drink exchange (kampai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

● [217] Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking.

273 562 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Matsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally [888] supplied with and liberally drink the sake.

These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If [154] drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the man, a way of relieving the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain the

4 There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrelsome. The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a [578] young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologised for the boy's behavior.

Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognised in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

[6] I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

[137] During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The [252] giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 177 276 272 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 [574] [757] Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking. Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[521] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something
[272] stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a rawer, stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely. 273 [574] [562]

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption would appear to be considerably less. 271 272

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them. 352 516

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood. 513

1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

Ooo custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.
302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 Diet With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually in-
[177] creased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of
[454] people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as
[272] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many